

Message Text

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61/66

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 1.)B

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO,FR

SUBJECT: OCTOBER 29 NAC FAREWELL TO FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE

.1. THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER ADDRESSEES MAY BE INTERESTED IN THE FOLLOWING SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF REMARKS MADE BY RETIRING FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE AT THE OCTOBER 29 MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.

GIVING HIS "PERSONAL" VIEW OF FRENCH/NATO RELATIONS, DE ROSE FINDS THAT THE "RULES OF THE GAME" ARE NOW WELL UNDERSTOOD. HE SEES NO PROSPECT FOR THE EMERGENCE OF AN ATLANTIC POLITICAL ENTITY, BUT BELIEVES

THERE CAN BE PROGRESS TOWARD GREATER EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY THROUGH INCREASED DEFENSE COOPERATION AMONG EUROPEANS. HOWEVER, EUROPEAN MOVEMENT TOWARD UNITY CAN TAKE PLACE, DE ROSE BELIEVES, ONLY WITHIN AN OVERALL SECURITY FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO PLAY THE KEY ROLE. DE ROSE REJECTS "HYPOTHETICAL" DISCUSSIONS ABOUT A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR FORCE AND BELIEVES EUROPE SHOULD

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CONCENTRATE ON MORE MODEST, BUT ATTAINABLE, DEFENSE GOALS. HE SEES NO CHANCE THAT FRANCE WILL RETURN TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCUTE. THOUGH COUCHED IN THOUGHTFUL ANDMODERATE TERMS, DE ROSE'S "PERSONAL" REMARKS SEEM AN AUTHORITATIVE RE-

STATEMENT OF THE ORTHODOX FRENCH OFFICIAL POSITION ON ATLANTIC
DEFENSE AND POLITICAL ISSUES. BEGIN TEXT OF MISSION INFORMAL
TRANSLATION:

2. GEGIN QUOTE:

I WILL NOT GIVE YOU A STOCK-TAKING OF THE
ALLIANCE BECAUSE THIS IS DONE ANNUALLY IN REPORTS AND BECAUSE I WOULD
BE IMCAPABLE OF SPEAKING AT THE AME TIME ABOUT DEFENSE AND DETENTE,
SOUTHERN FLANK PROBLEMS, THE OTTAWA DECLARATION, THE
PREPARATION OF CSCE AND MBFR, THE YOM KIPPUR WAR OR THE
PROBLEMS OF CONSULTATIONS, TO MENTION ONLY THE MAIN EVENTS
WHICH WERE IN THE HADLINES. I WOULD RATHER CONCENTRATE ON
THE PRESENCE OF MY COUNTRY IN THE ALIANCE ANND ON ITS RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANIZATION. I DO NOT
SPEAK IN THE NAME OF MY GOVERNMENT AND WILL SAY ONLY HOW I SEE
THE SITUATIIN WHEN I ASSUMED MY DUTIES HERE ONLY THREE YEARS HAD
ELAPSED SINCE NATO'S MOVE TO BRUSSELS AND FRANCE'S NEW POSITON
WAS PERHAPS NOT YET VEY CLEAR. I BELIEVE THAT THIS PHASE IS NO
OVER AND THAT THE RULES OF THE GAME ARE NOW SO WELL KNOWN THAT
WE CAN THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE.

3. POLITICALLY, IT IS GENERALLY SAID THAT THE MAIN DANGER
WHICH THREATENS OUR SOCIETY AND OUR WAYS OF THINKING ARE
NOT A MILITARY ONE. THIS IS TRUE, BUT ONLY TRUE
BECAUSE THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE EXISTS. IT IS ONLY BECAUSE
THE DIKE IS SOLID THAT OUR ADVERSARIES ARE TRYING TO
UNDERMINE ITS FOUNDATION. HE PROBLEM OF THE STRENGTH
OF THE ALLIANCE IS THEREFORE THE MAIN PROBLEM AND MR.
KISSINGER WAS RIGHT IN POINTING OUT TO THE WESTERN COUNTRIES
THE FACT THAT, AS WE GROW ACCUSTOMED TO SECURITY, GENERATIONS
PASS, THERE ARE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, AND MOTIVATIONS CHANGE.
IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO JUSTIFY THE ALLIANCE BY ARGUMENTS
ADAPTED TO THE CHANGING WORLD.

4. I THINK THAT EVERYONE CAN AGREE ABOUT THE AVOVE ANALYSIS.
OBVIOUSLY, THE PROBLEM IS TO FIND A REMEDY.
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5. ANY SIMPLIFICATION OF A QUESTION NECESSARILY INVOLVES A DIS-
TORTION. NEVERTHELESS, I THINK THAT IN A NUTSHELL THE MATTER
IS AS FOLLOWS: SHOULD OUR ALLIANCE EVOLVE TOWARDS THE CREA-
TION OF AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY INVOLVING A MORE HIGHLY DEVELOPED
POLITICAL IDENTITY, OR SHOULD IT, ON THE CONTRARY, EVOLVE
TOWARDS THE IDEA OF TWO PILLARS: ONE AMERICAN AND THE OTHER
EUOPEAN, WITH THESE PILLARS EVENTUALLY BEING EXTENDED INTO THE
DEFENSE SPHERE.

6. FOR ME, THESE TWO POSSIBILITIES ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE
IF WE DO NOT OVERDO MATTERS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS EVOLVING INTO A POLITICAL ENTITY GROUPING

ITS 15 MEMBERS. WE HAVE ONE THING IN COMMON: THE VALUES OF THE CIVILIZATION WHICH WE DEFEND AND THE PROBLEMS OF SECURITY. ECONOMICALLY, WE BELONG TO THE SAME SYSTEM WHICH HAS GIVEN TO OUR PEOPLES THE HIGHEST LIVING STANDARD IN THE WORLD. IT MAY BE THAT, VIS-A-VIS THE THIRD WORLD, WE HAVE COORDINATED POLITICS. BUT OUR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE ARE DIFFERENT, OUR RESOURCES ARE TOO UNEQUAL, OUR CAPACITY TO ACT IS TOO VARIED TO ALLOW THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY TO EVOLVE TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A POLITICAL ENTITY WHICH WOULD BE THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR DEFENSE. TO OVERSTATE MATTERS SOMEWHAT, I DO NOT FORESEE THE DAY WHEN EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS WILL ELECT THE PRESIDENT OF THE ATLANTIC WORLD. BUT I CAN IMAGINE THAT THE DAY WILL COME WHEN EUROPE WILL HAVE A GOVERNMENT COMPETENT IN MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

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7. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT EUROPE MIGHT BUILD ITSELF UP AROUND THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT DEFENSE. THIS IS ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED. ALMOST ALL COUNTRIES WERE CREATED AROUND THE IDEA OF DEFENSE. THE PROBLEM IS, ON THE ONE HAND, THAT THE EUROPEANS WILL ONLY PROGRESS DOWN THE ROAD TOWARD UNITY WITHIN THE SECURITY SYSTEM WHOSE KEYSTONE IS THE COOPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS THAT AMERICA ACCEPTS, WITH THE COMMUNITY IN WHOSE DEFENSE IT PLAYS THE MOST IMPORTANT ROLE, THAT THERE WILL BE A POLITICAL EVOLUTION TOWARD A NEW POLITICAL ENTITY WHICH IS ALLIED BUT SEPARATE. ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, THERE WILL BE A NEED FOR A STATESMENLIKE APPROACH. TWO YEARS AGO, WE SAW DURING THE DISCUSSIONS ON CONSULTATION HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS FOR TWO INTELLIGENT MEN TO COME TO AN UNDERSTAND-

ING. THIS IS NATURAL BECAUSE THEY WERE BOTH RIGHT. MR. KISSINGER SAID, JUSTIFIABLY, THAT IF POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE US COULD NOT LEAD A CHANGE IN A PREVIOUSLY AGREED UPON POLICY BY THE NINE. CONSULTATION WITH AMERICA DID NOT EXIST. MR. JOBERT WAS NOT WRONG EITHER WHEN HE SAID THAT, IF ANY AGREEMENT AMONG EUROPEANS WAS FINAL ONLY AFTER APPROVAL IN WASHINGTON, THERE WAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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NO EUROPEAN POLICY.

8. I THINK THAT WHAT WAS LACKING IN THAT CASE WAS AGREEMENT ON THE GOAL TO BE REACHED, THAT IS, ON THE CHOOICE BETWEEN THE TWO OPTIONS WHICH I REFERRED TO ABOVE: THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OR THE EUROPEAN PILLAR. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER , WHEN OUR LEADERS MEET AND DISCUSSED OONETARY, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY

PROBLEMS, THERE REMAINS ENOUGH TIME FOR THEM TO ASK THEMSELVES IF THEY

CAN AGREE ON LONG-TERM VIEWS. I HOPE SO BECAUSE,LACKING SUCH AGREEMENT, WE MAY WELL FALL INTO MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDING OR, WORSE. INTO MUTUAL SUSPICION OF EACH OTHER'S MOTIVES.

9. THERE WILL NEVER BE A FAIR WIND FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT KNOW WHERE THEY ARE GOING. WE COULD ALSO FOUNDER IF WE ONLY ACT UPON A PLAN WHICH LAYS DOWN EVERY STEP IN DETAIL. THIS IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO EUROPEANS, ESPECIALLY ON MILITARY PROBLEMS.

10. I NOW COME TO THE MORE PERSONAL AND HAZARDOUS PART OF MY REFLECTIONS. I THINK THAT, IN THE MILITARY FIELD, THE PROBLEM OF RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE ALLIANCE EXISTS IN THE FOLLOWING TEMS. FOR THE RESONS WHICH WE GAVE IN 1966, WE BELIEVE THAT THE INTEGRATED MILITARY SYSTEM MAY LEAD TO THE RISK OF BEING DRAGGED INTO A CONFLICT OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA AND OUTSIDE THE COMMITMENTS OF ARTICLE V. ON THIS POINT, I AM SURE THAT THER WILL NEVER BE A CHANGE IN MY COUNTRY'S ATTITUDE. THIS MEANS THAT WE WILL NOT SEEK TO REVISE THE ARRANGEMENS UNDER WHICH WE LEFT THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE AND WHICH RESULTED IN THE NON-EARMARKING OF OUR FORCES AND IN OUR FORCES IN GERMANY NOT BEING NEAR THE BORDERS WITH THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THE END OF OUR PREVIOUS ROLE AS LOGISTICAL PLATFORM FOR THE ALLIANCE IN BOTH PEACETIME AND WAR. ONCE THESE REQUIREMENTS ARE MET,

I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY OBSTACLE TO CAREFUL PREPARATION FOR THE COMMITMENT OF OUR FORCES SIDE BY SIDE WITH THOSE OF OUR ALLIES IN THE EVENT ARTICLE V COMES INTO APPLICATION, NOR TO FULL LOGISTIC SUPPORT AS SOON AS WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT.

10. ALSO, I CAN ONLY CONTINUE TO DEPLORE THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING NICS. MR. DE STAERCKE USED ALL HIS RESOURCES AS A DIPLOMAT IN A CAUSE IN WHICH HE BELIEVES, AS I DO. AT LEAST, I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE OUR NETWORK COMPATIBLE AND ASSURE THE INTEROPERABILITY OF OUR NETWORKS WITH THOSE OF THE ALLIANCE AND VICE VERSA. I AM PLEASED THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR I WAS ABLE TO DEFINE OUR POSITION OF FULL FUTURE PARTICIPATION IN NAGDE. AS REGARDS DOCTRINE, ARTICLE VIII OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION LAID DOWN THE GOALS OF DEFENSE POLICY IN TERMS CLEAR ENOUGH TO ELIMINATE ANY QUARREL ABOUT GRADUATED RESPONSE. DURING THEIR MARTINIQUE MEETINGS, GHE AMERICAN AND FRENCH PRESIDENTS RECOGNIZED THAT CO-OPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND NATO IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY. THIS BEING THE CASE, I STILL BELIEVE THAT EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS COULD ADOPT, WITHIN THE ALLIANCE , A COMMON ATTITUDE FOLLOWING THE CLEARLY SPECIFIC NATURE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFENSE OF OUR CONTINENT WHICH IS ALSO RECOGNIZED IN THE OTTAWA DECLARATION.

11. I HOPE THAT THEY WILL ACT IN THIS DIRECTION AS REGARDS THE PROBLEM OF ARMS PRODUCTION WHICH WILL NOW BE STUDIES BY THE COUNCIL. I BELIEVE THEY COULD ALSO SEEK AGREEMENT ABOUT THE CONVENTIONAL LEVEL WHICH SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. PEOPLE WILL SAY THIS ISSUE BELONGS TO THE DPC, BUT I MEAN SOMETHING ELSE. I AM THINKING ABOUT THE LEVEL OF STOCKS THAT EACH NATION SHOULD MAINTAIN, SINCE LOGISTICS ARE A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND NOT A MORE OR LESS RESTRICTIVE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE.

12. FINALLY, I DO NOT SEE WHY EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS COULD NOT AGREE THAT, WITHIN A SPECIFIED TIME FRAME OF PERHAPS FIVE YEARS OR MORE, THEY WILL DEVOTE THE SAME PROPORTION OF THEIR GNP TO THEIR DEFENSE EFFORT.

13. THIS IS NOT A VERY AMBITIOUS PROGRAM. BUT, I THINK THAT COMMON ACTIONS BY THE RUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS ON THESE SPECIFIC POINTS WOULD CONSITUTE A POLITICAL FACT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. I SAID THAT WE COULD FOUNDER IF WE DID NOT HAVE AN OVERVIEW OF THE GOALS TO BE REACHED. THERE IS ANOTHER ROCK UPON WHICH WE COULD COME TO GRIEF, AND THAT IS TO DO NOTHING BECAUSE WE DO NOT KNOW HOW TO RESOLVE ALL THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WILL ARISE IN THE FUTURE. NOTHING SEEMS TO ME MORE FUTILE THAN TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM OF USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY A HYPOTHETICAL EUROPEAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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GOVERNMENT. AS LONG AS THE UNITED STATES PROVIDES ITS GUARANTEE AND THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE ALLIANCE NEEDS, THIS PROBLEM DOES NOT ARISE. AND, I HOPE THAT MATTERS WILL REMAIN THIS WAY. BY POSING FALSE PROBLEMS, ONE SUCCEEDS ONLY IN NOT DEALING WITH REAL PROBLEMS. END QUOTE.

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